DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 292 907 UD 026 074

AUTHOR	Hacker, George A.; And Others
TITLE	Marketing Booze to Blacks. A Report from the Center for Science in the Public Interest.
INSTITUTION	Center for Science in the Public Interest, Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-89329-015-7
PUB DATE	May 87
NOTE	69p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Center for Science in the Public Interest, Department PD/EDRS, 1501 16th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036 ($5.45).
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Advertising; *Alcohol Education; Alcoholic Beverages; Alcoholism; *Black Community; Black Influences; *Black Leadership; Black Organizations; *Blacks; Corporate Support; Drinking; Drug Addiction; Government Role; Health; *Marketing
IDENTIFIERS	*Alcohol Abuse; Business Ethics

ABSTRACT

Beer, wine, and liquor manufacturers aggressively seek to maximize sales of their products to blacks, despite public health and safety problems associated with those products. Rather than act to protect the public from the over-promotion of alcohol, government has set few effective constraints on the sales stratagems of alcoholic beverage producers, who advertise their brands to young people, and who routinely promote regular, daily drinking and appeal to the psychological needs of alcohol abusers. Although blacks, overall, consume less alcohol per capita than whites, drinking in the black community results in disproportionately high rates of certain alcohol-related problems, such as cirrhosis of the liver, esophageal cancer, and violent crime and accidents. But the black population is being targeted for increased consumption. Advertising and other marketing practices directed at blacks are examined. The alcohol industry's varied public relations and "public service" activities, which have been implemented ostensibly to promote goodwill in the black community, result in economic dependence that effectively prevents black media and civic organizations from taking energetic actions against alcohol problems. Recommendations are made to help decrease the economic dependence of these organizations on the alcohol industry. (BJV)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

MARKETING BOOZE TO BLACKS

ED292907

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

George A. Hacker,
Ronald Collins, and
Michael Jacobson

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Richard Lyman
Center for Science in the Public Interest
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

UD026074

3-15-88 VD

MARKETING BOOZE TO BLACKS

BY GEORGE A. HACKER,
RONALD COLLINS, AND
MICHAEL JACOBSON

CSPI CENTER FOR SCIENCE IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST

Center for Science in the Public Interest (CSPI) is a non-profit organization that advocates progressive public health policies. It has led efforts to improve alcohol policies regarding labels and warnings on alcohol beverage containers, advertising, and excise taxes.

Copyright © 1987 by Center for Science in the Public Interest

Center for Science in the Public Interest
1501 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 332-9110

All rights reserved, which includes the right to reproduce this booklet or portions thereof in any form whatsoever, except for excerpting brief passages in reviews.

First printing, May 1987

ISBN: 0-89329-015-7

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The inspiration for this report originally came from Peter Bell, executive director of the Minnesota Institute on Black Chemical Abuse, who noted the absence of any serious analysis of how blacks were special targets of alcohol producers in our previous report on alcohol marketing, The Booze Merchants. We thank Peter and his staff members, BoisSan Moore and David Grant, for their help in conducting a joint survey of alcoholism counselors, and for their suggestions and counsel as the report neared completion.

Maxine Womble of the National Black Alcoholism Council also offered helpful suggestions, as did Jacob Andow of the District of Columbia Commission of Health, and Beverly Jackson of the United Methodist Church.

Catherine Voss provided tireless assistance gathering information and typing and re-typing numerous drafts of this report; her cheerfulness and patience were much appreciated. Karen Lieberman's help in this regard was also a major contribution.

Finally, this report was supported by grants to CSPI's Alcohol Policies Project from the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation and the Rockefeller Family Fund.

CONTENTS

PREFACE vii

FOREWORD xi

SUMMARY xiv

MARKETING BOOZE TO BLACKS 1

Alcohol Harm in the Black Community:
Health and Safety Problems 2

Rates of Drinking and Problem Drinking 6

Alcohol Advertising Directed to Blacks 8

Television Advertising 11

Magazine Advertising 15

Billboard Advertising 22

Violations of Industry and Government
Standards for Alcohol Advertising 25

Celebrity Promotions 29

Public Relations and Alcohol Promotion—
Blacks as Beneficiaries or Hostages? 31

Conclusions and Recommendations 39

AFTERWORD 45

NOTES 51

PREFACE

By Barbara Jordan

Barbara Jordan, *a three-term United States Congresswoman from 1973–1979, currently is a professor and holds the Lyndon B. Johnson Centennial Chair in National Policy at the University of Texas at Austin.*

America is moderating its drinking behavior. In response to public service awareness and education campaigns, to a trend toward health and fitness, to beefed up enforcement of laws against drunk driving, and to the gradual aging of the population, consumption of alcohol in this country has been declining steadily in the past few years. As a result of this relative temperance, society suffers fewer alcohol-related traffic fatalities and decreasing numbers of alcohol-related cirrhosis deaths.

Notwithstanding these health and safety gains, this is no time for complacency, particularly among blacks in the United States. Alcoholism and alcohol abuse are the leading social and health problems in black America. When compared to similar problems among white Americans, the results of alcohol abuse are disproportionately high, despite an overall lower rate of drinking in the black community. Cirrhosis mortality is twice as common among black males as it is among white males nationally; in some urban areas the rates are three to twelve times higher than for white males. The leading causes of "excess death"

among blacks indicate a correlation with alcohol and other drug abuse. Homicide, accidents of all kinds, and cancer are prime examples. The rate of cancer of the esophagus among black males 35-44 years old -- a condition closely linked to alcohol consumption (and smoking) -- is a staggering ten times that of their white counterparts. Poverty, lack of adequate health care, unemployment, and a host of other social ills accentuate further the devastating impact of alcohol in the black community.

In the face of this carnage, blacks are being targeted, as never before, by alcohol producers intent upon expanding their sales and profits. The appeals range from implicit promises of elegance, power, and sexual conquest to outright bribes of community groups who are asked to deliver more alcohol consumers in return for jobs. Scholarship donations and sponsorship of Black History Month, though worthy contributions to the community, are often little more than public relations efforts carefully staged and publicized to maximize goodwill and forestall serious inquiry into prevention policies to reduce the harm from alcohol abuse.

As this report suggests, the time has come to question the commercial activities of alcoholic beverage producers who aim to flood the black community with this country's most damaging, albeit legal, drug. Black civic and religious organizations, community groups, and business and political leaders must develop a strategy to reduce alcohol-related problems in our community. Alcohol marketers, too, have a role to play, beginning with reducing the pressure on blacks to drink. Celebrating Black History Month in advertisements or providing scholarships and other economic opportunities are beneficent, but shallow, gestures when compared to massive advertising campaigns that promote drinking.

Young black men don't need Billy Dee Williams' or Fred Williamson's promises of fulfillment through drink.

Black communities don't need the plethora of billboards extolling the virtues of alcohol. Why must so many of our community events -- from school-yard basketball tournaments to the annual meeting of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation -- be sponsored by beer and liquor companies? The help may be gratifying, but is it worth the price? And it is worth asking why so few makers of products other than alcohol and cigarettes court black consumers. Likewise, is it healthy for black-owned media and advertising agencies to be so heavily dependent on alcohol -- and tobacco -- marketers? We must ask why they are largely ignored when it comes to advertising more wholesome products to black audiences.

As this report points out, what is needed immediately is a commitment -- on the part of alcohol marketers and the black media -- to extend their community service in the black community by launching a full-scale, frontal assault on alcohol, as one of the many drugs that is undermining our community. I suspect that a sincere endeavor would be rewarded by enhanced positive brand awareness as well as by solid improvements in the conditions of black lives. A forthright acknowledgement of responsibility to do their share to reduce the toll of alcohol problems in the black community would also help reduce suspicions among many blacks and other industry critics about the true motives of alcohol producers.

Compared to the incessant advertising reminders in the black community that create an air of acceptability and necessity for drinking, there is a virtual vacuum of pro-health information and resources. Alcohol producers may do a little, but we must demand that government, insurance companies, and others greatly expand programs to correct this imbalance.

No longer can we afford to sit back as the very fabric of our community is torn asunder by those who, wittingly or not, put profit above the best interests of

the black community. We must not ignore the future of our children, the stability of our families, the safety of our neighborhoods, and the health of our people. This report, hopefully, will stimulate discussion among black -- and white -- civic and political leaders, advertising agencies, alcohol producers, governmental agencies, and community groups about how to work together to fight alcohol problems rather than exacerbate them. Our society can only benefit as a result.

FOREWORD

Since 1982, the Center for Science in the Public Interest has investigated the marketing and advertising practices of the alcoholic beverage industry. Our research, first published in The Booze Merchants, has described how beer, wine, and liquor producers aggressively seek to maximize sales of their products, despite massive public health and safety problems associated with those products. Rather than act to protect the public from the over-promotion of America's leading drug, government has set few effective constraints on the sales stratagems used by producers.

We have found that many alcoholic beverage producers, either deliberately or incidentally, advertise their brands to young people -- including those under the legal drinking age -- on college campuses, in youth-oriented magazines, on radio and television, and through the use of numerous athletic and music promotions. We also have found that many beverage manufacturers, who profit substantially from drinking done by alcoholics and other problem drinkers, routinely promote regular, daily drinking, and even use advertising techniques designed to appeal directly to

the psychological needs of heavy drinkers and alcohol abusers.

No longer do brewers, vintners, and distillers compete for market share solely within their product categories. Today, all alcoholic beverage types compete in a broader beverage market that extends beyond alcohol to include soft drinks, fruit juices, even water. New products like wine coolers, pop wines, fruit flavored cordials, and pre-mixed cocktails are among those that are being created to attract users of other alcoholic beverages as well as non-drinkers. Young people and women appear to be special targets of many of these promotions. New distribution systems that make beer, wine, or liquor available in grocery stores, gas stations, and fast food restaurants, for example, are seen as other key means of increasing sales.

Yet another tactic that alcohol producers use to maximize sales is to focus marketing activities on distinct populations, including those that historically consumed relatively little alcohol. The black population is one such discrete group that is being targeted for increased consumption.

"Marketing Booze to Blacks" describes advertising and other marketing practices directed at blacks, and puts those practices into the context of alcohol problems that have a particularly severe impact on the black community. In addition to looking at the variety of means used to advance sales and establish brand allegiance, we highlight industry's varied public relations and "public service" activities that have been implemented to build goodwill in the black community. Too frequently, however, these efforts result in an economic dependence that effectively prevents black media and civic organizations from taking energetic action against alcohol problems.

Although we focus here on industry's attempts to stimulate alcohol consumption among blacks, readers

should recognize that these efforts represent just one facet of the alcoholic beverage industry's comprehensive, two-billion dollar a year promotional program. The failure of government and the black community to address this barrage of one-sided alcohol information provides a stark example of public policy paralysis on alcohol prevention issues.

For years, policy makers have been asked to examine and reform the virtually unchecked promotion of America's most popular and devastating drug. Despite the "Rambo" rhetoric of the short-lived "war on drugs," little is done to prevent epidemic alcohol problems, although they easily dwarf those related to illicit drugs. In few segments of society are the effects of drinking as pronounced and devastating as they are among blacks.

We hope this report shatters some of the complacency among blacks and whites alike, and ignites a dialogue about the exploitative and hypocritical activities of alcoholic beverage companies in the black community, as well as in the society at large.

G. Hacker
R. Collins
M. Jacobson
– May, 1987

SUMMARY

According to the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, alcohol abuse is the leading health and safety problem in black America. Although blacks, overall, consume less alcohol (per capita) than whites, drinking in the black community results in disproportionately high rates of certain alcohol-related problems.

In particular, black rates of cirrhosis of the liver and esophageal cancer, maladies closely associated with alcohol (and, in the case of cancer, cigarette) use, exceed greatly the rates at which whites suffer these diseases. Other alcohol-related harms, in the form of violent crime and accidents, also affect blacks (particularly males) disproportionately.

Despite high levels of alcohol problems, blacks have become a special market for alcohol producers. Advertising targeted at blacks, frequently utilizing the insights of black-run advertising agencies, employs all media, with particular emphasis on radio, black-oriented magazines and inner-city billboards. One

consequence of these heavy advertising expenditures has been the unwillingness of revenue-dependent black publications to report on risks associated with alcohol use and abuse.

Advertising campaigns are reinforced by a wide range of promotional activities, including sponsorship of concert tours, community sporting events, beauty contests, etc. Black celebrities are frequently featured. These alcohol promotions overwhelm the occasional messages publicizing health problems related to alcohol.

Part of the alcohol marketers' strategy includes "reputation development" in the black community. Alcohol companies sponsor such events as "Black History Month" or award dinners for well-known leaders. Their contributions to black civic and community organizations and scholarship funds are generous compared to most other companies, and their assistance to black economic development is a model for other industries. This largesse has placed many black civic and political leaders in a bind. In return for accepting the contributions, they are forced to abstain from taking effective action to reduce alcohol problems in the black community and to acquiesce in alcoholic beverage company marketing efforts designed to increase black drinking.

In response to this marketing assault on black consumers, "Marketing Booze to Blacks" makes several recommendations that address the responsibilities of alcohol companies, black media, black civic and community leaders, other businesses, and government.

Alcohol companies are urged to stop promoting alcoholic beverages with enhanced alcohol content (malt liquors, fortified wines) specifically to blacks, and to begin massive public service efforts to educate black people about their special risks related to alcohol abuse. The black media and black organizations are encouraged to question whether financial relationships with alcohol producers have undercut their ability to

serve the best interests of the black community. Businesses not related to the alcohol industry are urged to help lessen the economic dependence of these groups on alcohol company support by increasing their advertising directed to the black community and by providing opportunities for the expansion of economic and social opportunities for blacks.

Finally, the report recommends government action to strengthen prevention and treatment efforts. These efforts should include massive education and community organizing campaigns designed to discourage youth drinking, heighten adult awareness of alcohol problems, and encourage the use of available alcoholism treatment programs. The federal government should increase funding for research into black drinking patterns and effective means of preventing and reducing drinking problems. In addition, Congress should enact legislation to: improve labeling of alcoholic beverages to include health warnings, calories, and ingredients; restrict alcohol advertising practices; and raise alcohol excise taxes.

MARKETING BOOZE TO BLACKS

"Alcohol abuse is the number one health problem...in Black America. It is also the number one problem that is ignored by Black Americans." This was the 1976 assessment of Professor Frederick D. Harper of the Howard University School of Education.[1] A decade later, the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) reported that "[a]lcohol abuse remains the number one health problem in the black community."[2]

For years, the special devastation that alcohol use and abuse wreak among blacks has been largely ignored by both blacks and whites, researchers[3] and educators, physicians and social workers, as well as by federal and state governmental agencies. Black drinking habits are not, however, being ignored by alcohol producers who have implemented ambitious marketing campaigns that target blacks. Before examining the marketing programs, we shall describe the extent and impact of alcohol problems in the black community.

I. Alcohol Harm in the Black Community: Health and Safety Problems

Alcohol problems touch all sectors of American society. The abuse of alcohol is responsible for an estimated 100,000 deaths and $120 billion in economic damage each year.[4] Black Americans certainly shoulder a significant share of the societal costs.

"There is considerable evidence that alcohol problems have a major impact on black Americans. The consequences of alcohol abuse...have been extreme for black Americans, especially black men."[5] That 1986 assessment by the NIAAA is based on a 1985 Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) report, which in turn supports Harper's earlier assessment. According to the Report of the Secretary's Task Force on Black and Minority Health, blacks "suffer disproportionately from the health consequences of alcohol...[and] appear to be at a disproportionately high risk for certain alcohol-related problems."[6] The HHS report stresses the general findings of the relatively few studies that have examined alcohol abuse among blacks. These studies strongly indicate that segments of that community are at serious risk for chronic liver disease, cirrhosis of the liver, and esophageal cancer.

The National Center for Health Statistics reports that the age-adjusted death rates for chronic liver disease and cirrhosis are twice as high for blacks as for whites. "Although cirrhosis mortality rates have generally declined each year since peaking in 1973," reports the NIAAA, "black Americans continue to experience disproportionate (sic) high rates."[7]

One government report[8] studied liver cirrhosis mortality in seven major U.S. cities and found that non-white males aged 25-34 were ten times more likely to die of liver cirrhosis than whites. This finding may reflect the relative access to health care services of these two groups as much or more than it reflects the incidence of liver cirrhosis. For whatever reasons, the data indicate that, in practical terms, cirrhosis is killing blacks far faster than whites.

The inordinately high death rates for cirrhosis among blacks is a relatively recent phenomenon. According to Denise Herd of the Institute of Epidemiology and Behavioral Medicine of the Medical Research Institute of San Francisco, "[p]rior to the early 1950's age adjusted rates of liver cirrhosis mortality in the non-white population were generally lower than the rates in the white population. This trend changed rapidly after 1955." Furthermore, she notes, "[i]n the ten year span between 1960 and 1970, the cirrhosis mortality rate of the non-white population doubled, increasing from 11.9 to 23.8 deaths per 100,000 persons."[9]

Esophageal cancer, which is promoted by both cigarettes and alcohol, strikes blacks at similarly disproportionate levels. National Cancer Institute data reveal that "between 1979-81, the incidence rate of esophageal cancer for Black males, aged 35-44, was ten times that of Whites." The rate gap between black and white females is also large, between 3 and 7 times higher for blacks than whites.[10]

Previous NIAAA reports also emphasize that blacks suffer disproportionately from other health consequences of alcoholism, including hypertension, obstructive pulmonary disease, severe malnutrition, and birth defects.[11]

Likewise, alcohol abuse's links to physical violence have been extreme for black Americans, particularly males. These problems include homicides,

accidents, criminal assaults, and other run-ins with the law.[12]

Additionally, some studies cited in the HHS Report conclude that blacks, generally, are at a greater risk than whites for alcohol-related automobile accidents and arrests for drunken driving. Although blacks involved in crimes are less likely (particularly for young offenders) to have drinking problems than white offenders, the association of alcohol in the commission of violent crime is well-documented.[13]

The rates of hospital admissions of blacks for alcohol-related psychiatric problems have historically been disproportionately high, reflecting blacks' underlying socio-economic disadvantages. In one study, the rate of admissions for alcohol-withdrawal treatment in a New York City psychiatric hospital was found to be significantly correlated with overcrowded neighborhood housing, high rates of aid to dependent children, venereal disease, juvenile delinquency, tuberculosis, unemployment, homicide, and low educational level, median income and residential stability.[14]

According to a 1982 NIAAA survey, blacks accounted for 18 percent of the clients in alcohol treatment programs although they comprised roughly only 11 percent of the U.S. population.[15] Despite this higher rate, treatment resources in the black community tend to be inadequate to meet more than a small percentage of the need for professional intervention.

Unquestionably, the current evidence points to the conclusion that blacks experience more adverse effects from a given level of alcohol abuse than do whites. The reason: the relative absence or inadequacy of health care and the aggravating effects of economic and social factors. In this regard, a 1985 survey by the Center for Science in the Public Interest and the Minnesota Institute on Black Chemical Abuse of 70

alcohol counselors, social workers, and others who work with black alcoholics and problem drinkers revealed that a clear majority thought poverty was the single most important factor influencing drinking.[16] Thus, the economic status of black Americans has a pronounced effect both on the probability of experiencing an alcohol problem and on the likelihood of subsequently obtaining adequate medical treatment or other services to cope with that problem.

Federal health officials recognize the severity of alcohol-related problems facing blacks. Yet they appear unwilling to provide the necessary funds to improve and protect the health of black and other vulnerable segments of the population. Indeed, NIAAA's extramural research funds for the study of black alcohol problems total a mere $512,193 (1986); for all minorities, the sum is $2,267,668.[17] These sums hardly compare with expenditures in excess of $2 billion each year to promote drinking. Tens of millions of dollars are devoted to campaigns that specifically target black people.

Ironically, while the federal government fails to provide needed funding to ameliorate black alcohol problems, alcoholic beverage producers have steadily expanded their product advertising and marketing campaigns aimed at blacks, as well as their public relations and goodwill campaigns. Thus, the lion's share of what is being said and done about alcohol in the black community consists of a steady diet of alluring commercial marketing campaigns designed to promote alcohol consumption among blacks. These promotions are reinforced by skillful public relations campaigns, which, among other things, associate alcohol companies with progressive black causes, and serve to forestall possible criticisms by minority organizations. The combination of governmental inaction and aggressive marketing initiatives portends increased alcohol-related problems.

II. Rates of Drinking and Problem Drinking

Although data on black drinking patterns are incomplete and sometimes dated, certain generalizations can be made in comparing black and white alcohol consumption and black and white rates of drinking problems.

Most studies show that, on the average, blacks of all ages and both sexes consume less alcohol, less frequently than whites. National data[18] find that black women are considerably less likely to drink than white women; 49 percent of black women reported drinking compared to 61 percent of white women. This disparity is particularly striking for women over 60. One regional study found that in that population, 16 percent of black women report drinking, compared to 47 percent of white women.[19]

Among men, blacks begin drinking at later ages than whites. According to preliminary findings of a recent study by Warheit of drinking habits among Southerners, 32 percent of black men aged 30-59 reported frequent or daily drinking, compared with 39 percent of whites. Over 84 percent of white men in that age group reported at least some drinking, compared to 74 percent of blacks. Among those aged 18-29, 94 percent of white men reported some drinking, in contrast to just 39 percent of blacks. This finding, however, may be affected by the small sample of younger black men (n=32) surveyed in the study.[20]

Among individuals under the legal drinking age, fewer blacks appear to drink alcohol than whites. A recent nationwide survey of senior high school students showed that smaller percentages of black boys (66 percent) and girls (59 percent) consumed alcohol (at least once a year) than white boys (81 percent) or girls (77 percent).[21]

Rates of heavy drinking among black and white

drinkers appear to be roughly comparable, according to HHS's 1986 report on black and minority health.[22]

Problem drinking, when examined by age, differs among black and white males. "Among white males, heavy and problematic drinking is concentrated in the young, while among blacks this pattern is associated with early middle age."[23] According to one survey of Southerners, 75.3 percent of 18-29 year old white male respondents reported incidents of drunkenness in the past year. For blacks, the highest drunkenness rate, 47.4 percent, occurred in the 30-59 age group.[24]

Of course, regional as well as urban-rural differences may be important considerations. For example, blacks in the urban North are far more likely to be alcohol consumers than their counterparts in the rural South.[25] Unfortunately, given the paucity of studies, it is impossible to discern with precision the influence of regional, urban and rural, religious, cultural, and socio-economic factors as they pertain to rates of alcohol consumption and abuse.

Nonetheless, blacks suffer the most severe consequences of alcohol abuse. "Blacks of both sexes reported a higher number of alcohol dependency behaviors [discussed below] than those in their white comparison groups," report the authors of a 1985 study of drinking behavior.[26] Moreover, "[t]his fact emerges even though whites reported more frequent consumption of alcohol than blacks and in most instances indicate more episodes of drunkenness."[27]

With increasing regularity, researchers are discovering that "alcohol use among blacks generally appears to have more deleterious health effects than it does for whites."[28*] Warheit, employing a standard measure "health problems index," found that among all

---

* This was not the case with persons 18-29.

age-sex-race groups, black males 30-59 experienced the highest rate of alcohol-connected problems.[29] This same group also experienced the highest lifetime rates of alcohol abuse and dependence.[30] And finally, even black females, who as a group consume the least alcohol, experienced a higher rate of alcohol-connected social problems than did either white males or females. Typical of these problems are alcohol dependence, problems with police, accidents, problems at work, and spouse problems.[31]

Despite the staggering health and safety toll that alcohol abuse exacts in the black community, one scholar maintains that "[p]olitical leaders, health professionals and the public at large have little knowledge of the extent to which [b]lacks are affected by alcohol-related diseases."[32] Sufficient knowledge about the health consequences of alcohol use is also inadequate.

In contrast to this massive ignorance about alcohol problems, the black community is well-informed, through the media; by an abundance of outlets for wine, beer and liquor; and by numerous alcohol-industry sponsored community events, about the attractiveness, glamor, and social benefits of drinking. We now take a look at some of the forces that encourage drinking among blacks.

III. Alcohol Advertising Directed to Blacks

Blacks pay more attention to advertising than does the average consumer, contends Joel Martin, president of the black ad agency hired by Anheuser-Busch to promote sales of King Cobra malt liquor.[33] Furthermore, she adds, her agency's studies reveal that

black consumers respond more readily to advertising.[34] Against that backdrop, ad agencies and alcohol producers have developed a vast assortment of marketing practices to promote sales to blacks. Although the total amount budgeted by companies specifically to cultivate black drinkers is shrouded in corporate secrecy, the figure clearly reaches into the tens of millions of dollars.

Alcohol promotions to blacks rely heavily on a working familiarity with the customs and life preferences of that minority community. As Keith Lockhardt, of the black ad agency, Lockhardt and Pettus, which develops advertising for Canadian Club whiskey, put it, "[B]lack people have different triggers."[35] Alcohol promotion is linked to the most popular types of music, sports, and cultural events enjoyed by blacks. To maximize commercial success (as well as, perhaps, to generate jobs and goodwill in the black community), the leading alcohol producers employ black ad agencies in Chicago and New York among other cities. In Chicago, Burrell Advertising, Inc., the kingpin of black ad agencies, handles the Martell cognac, Canadian Mist whisky, and Jack Daniels liquor accounts. In New York, Mingo-Jones Advertising, with $30 million a year in overall billings, manages accounts for Seagram liquor and Miller Brewing Co. Anheuser-Busch relies on the New York-based firm of J.P. Martin Associates, Inc. to control the King Cobra malt liquor and Budweiser Superfest accounts. Uniworld Group, also in New York, is the black ad agency for Coors beer and Heublein Inc., whose products include Smirnoff vodka and Harvey's Bristol Cream. Alcohol producers are the number one clients of many of the top ad agencies, including Mingo-Jones.

Black ad agencies are not all of one mind when it comes to alcohol. For example, one leading black ad agency, Proctor & Gardner Advertising, declines to handle alcohol accounts. Says Barbara Proctor, president of the Chicago agency:

> I take advertising very seriously. A lot of people in this business say we only provide options for the public. I think that's burying your head in the sand. What we really do is generate need. The nature of advertising is to persuade -- to create insecurities in the consumer that only the advertised product can fulfill. Therefore, I'm very careful how I use that power. I will not hype products that I believe are detrimental, such as cigarettes or alcohol.[36]

On top of their strong relationships with black-owned ad agencies, alcohol producers have their own internal staffs which conduct marketing programs aimed at blacks. Anheuser-Busch and Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, among others, have assigned black executives to develop special marketing and community affairs programs designed to enhance their corporate image as well as sell more product.

The Seagram Company's effort to boost fast growing sales of Mumm VSOP cognac, which are divided about equally between blacks and whites, provides one example of an advertising and promotional strategy that primarily targets blacks. Advertising for this $20 cognac adorns some 4,500 of New York City's 6,000 subway cars[37], framing doors of the cars. Additionally, the brand is advertised in Ebony, Ebony Man, Jet, Black Enterprise, and American Vision, all major magazines directed to blacks.[38]

Television Advertising

Blacks, together with other television viewers, are treated to about $700 million of television advertising each year for beers, wines, and wine coolers. Blacks, indeed, might be getting even a greater dose than others. According to a two-year audience measurement study conducted by Arbitron Ratings Company's statistical services department, black households view considerably more television than non-black households. Arbitron concluded that black households (in the 4 key markets surveyed) watch 27 percent more television than non-blacks. Significantly, blacks watched more television across all 12 dayparts.[39]

Former football great, L.C. Greenwood, is among the many black athletes who advertise Miller Lite beer.

Many television ads for alcoholic beverages utilize black spokesmen. For instance, Miller Lite ads have featured ex-football stars Matt Snell, Deacon Jones, Roosevelt Grier, L.C. Greenwood, and, before his 1986 refusal to do more ads, Bubba Smith; basket-ballers Happy Hairston, K.C. Jones, Sam Jones, and Wilt Chamberlain; baseball great Frank Robinson, and former heavyweight champion boxer Joe Frazier. These

advertisements, which primarily emphasize that real men drink Lite beer, have appeal to all audiences, yet are handy to use in television markets with high ratios of black viewers.

Several Miller Lite ads, which aired during the 1986 World Series and professional football and basketball games, featured blacks, though not celebrities. In the ads, a black actor simulates a tough, demanding ex-Marine sergeant who, implicitly, orders his men to drink Miller Lite. These ads are obviously pitched to young men, including potential Marine recruits (average age 18), a disproportionate percentage of whom happen to be black.[40]

Brewers routinely use a range of appeals to pitch beers to different segments of consumers in high-density black markets. Anheuser-Busch, for example, uses black actor-athletes in touting Bud Light, and its flagship brand, Budweiser, features several ads that capture the drinking camaraderie among black working men. Several ads for Anheuser-Busch's upscale Michelob, on the other hand, celebrate successful and striving black business people and entrepreneurs. Coors, Stroh, Miller, and Heileman, the other major brewers, all have run ads featuring blacks.

More startling, however, than advertising that shares the same themes as those pitched to a general audience, are the ads that promote alcohol products consumed predominantly in the black community.

Of television ads directed to blacks, those for malt liquors are most notable for being directed almost exclusively to blacks, who account for most of their sales. A Heileman Brewing Co. regional marketing executive estimated that blacks purchased about 75 percent of Heileman's leading malt liquor, Colt-45, in his area.[41]

These products generally contain as much as 20 percent more alcohol than most regular beers. For

instance, Anheuser-Busch's King Cobra malt liquor contains 5.9 percent alcohol by volume, compared to its flagship Budweiser brand which is 4.9 percent alcohol. The best-selling malt liquor, Heileman's Colt-45, contains about 15 percent more alcohol than Heileman's popular, regular beer, Old Style. According to the Stroh Brewery Company, Red Bull malt liquor contains 6.9 percent alcohol by volume, almost 17 percent more alcohol than in Schlitz malt liquor (also produced by Stroh) and over 50 percent more alcohol than Stroh's regular Schlitz beer. These "power brews" are widely advertised in black magazines, on billboards in black communities, on posters in public transit systems, and on TV and radio programs aimed at blacks. Television ads for these products have included demonstrations of power -- cans "blasting off" or being fired out of a rocket launcher and submarine (Colt-45 malt liquor); a bull smashing through concrete walls, usually interrupting groups of popular black singers (Schlitz); and suggestions of sexual conquest (Colt-45).

One TV ad for Anheuser-Busch's King Cobra malt liquor illustrates an appeal to black consumers. The ad's star, popular, "macho," black actor Fred Williamson (of the popular movie, "Hammer") asks, "When you pop the top, what's the clue?" A woman, holding a tall glass of King Cobra, answers: "Don't let the smooth taste fool you!" Fred Williamson returns and adds: "[King Cobra] gives malt liquor satisfaction--don't let the smooth taste fool you!" The message is that King Cobra packs power. The name and snake logo of the product reinforce this aura of strength, and the taste, we're told, "grabs you." Despite the product's smoothness, the product will satisfy a drinker's (a real man's) craving for an alcoholic kick. Clearly, this beverage is touted this way in order to promote the intoxicating effect that comes with its extra alcohol content. Five cans of King Cobra provide as much alcohol as six cans of Budweiser.

Similarly, Schlitz malt liquor commercials depict black rock groups, such as Kool and the Gang, the Chi

Lites, the Four Tops, and others, singing and dancing. The message: "Now the body's going strong, so don't say beer...say bull!" Again, the malt liquor strength is held out as preferable to that of standard malt beverages (beer).

Advertising for malt liquor products that contain more alcohol than regular beers is targeted specifically at blacks.

In much the same way, Billy Dee Williams, another well-known, black actor (a star in "Mahogany," "Lady Sings the Blues," and "The Empire Strikes Back") boasts of Colt 45's "Dynamite Taste. It works every time." In a series of commercials, alcoholic "punch" is offered in the service of romantic advances. Says Billy Dee: "Part one is the lady. Part two is the Colt. Now remember that the Colt is essential. And part three is a little luck. Well, I've got the Colt and I've got my lady. So wish me luck." A further ad for Colt-45 features Billy Dee Williams and similarly suggests how to get women drunk and into bed. Its slogan: "The power of Colt-45. It works every time."

Numerous commentators, including syndicated columnist Carl Rowan[42] and Advertising Age's Bob Garfield[43] have lambasted the Billy Dee Williams' Colt-45 ads for their poor taste and demeaning characterization of black moral values. Rowan uses the ad as an example of how the "underclass becomes the prey [the victims of choice] of those selling legal poisons." Although he credits Heileman for correctly targeting urban black men, who drink almost all malt liquor, Garfield terms the advertising campaign's "appeal to the glandular, sexist, basest common

denominator" horrifying and shameful. "It is advertising for and about blacks that attributes no moral sensibilities to its audience."

As if promoting the high alcohol content of malt liquors and the chances of scoring with women were not enough, other aspects of the ad offend as well. The ad, replete with sexual innuendoes and a guarantee of sexual success, was seen on (among other shows) re-runs of the popular black-oriented family comedy show, "The Jeffersons," and was broadcast, in New York City, for example, in the early evening when (according to Arbitron) over 300,000 viewers (15 percent of the total) were under the age of 18. The insensitivity of the message -- that women can be seduced if you get them drunk -- is heightened by the sad reality of high rates of unwed pregnancies among black teenagers.

Magazine Advertising

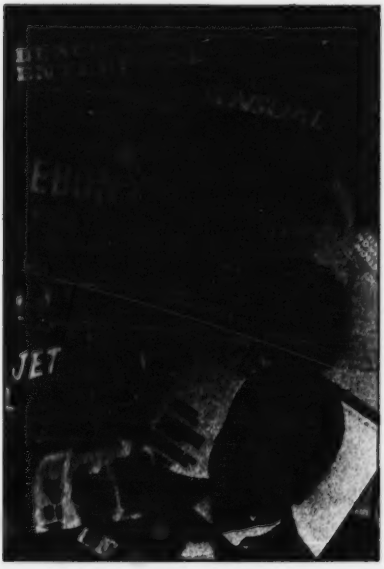
Magazines catering to black audiences provide a perfect means for advertisers to zero in on black consumers. Ebony, for example, has a circulation of 1,800,000; Jet boasts a readership of over 7 million. A revealing "trade" ad selling Black Enterprise to alcohol advertisers, tells the story: "We'll help you stir up more sales among black consumers."[44]

Alcohol advertising, mostly for distilled spirits, represents a sizable portion of the advertising in black-oriented magazines. Forty percent (40%) of the ads that appeared in the December 1985 issue of Black Enterprise were for liquor. The October 1986 edition, which was not so heavily influenced by holiday advertising (a disproportionate amount of liquor advertising and sales occurs in November and December), contained eight ads for vodka, rum, cognac, gin, brandy, and beer. In addition, Coors, Anheuser-Busch, and Phillip Morris (corporate parent of Miller Brewing) each bought a page to enhance their image by "honoring" education, fatherhood, and Pulitzer-Prize

photo journalist, Moneta Sleet, respectively. Together, the product ads and image ads comprised about 25 percent of all advertising in that issue.

A similar analysis of Modern Black Man showed that alcohol ads accounted for one-third of all advertising in the December 1985 issue, and over 44 percent in October 1986. The October issue also included a Coors "image ad" highlighting the importance of education.

Dollars & Sense, an up-scale magazine targeting blacks, filled one third of its ad pages with alcohol ads in the October/November 1985 issue. Six of the twelve ads in the February/March 1986 edition, the "Annual Black History/Careers Issue," were for alcoholic beverages. Alcohol producers sponsored an additional 9 pages, celebrating and commemorating various black historical and cultural subjects. In the November 4, 1985 and October 13, 1986 issues of Jet, more than one-fifth of all advertising was for liquor.



Many magazines catering to black readers are saturated regularly with ads for alcoholic beverages.

In most of the leading black-oriented magazines, alcohol ads are second in number only to cosmetic and hair products. They usually outnumber cigarette and automobile ads. As with many black ad agencies, black magazines have become significantly dependent on alcohol ad revenues.

The apparent price of this addiction to alcohol ad revenues has been a stunning silence about health risks associated with alcohol use. Like most general circulation magazines (which are also generously supported by alcohol ad dollars), major black magazines, including Jet, Black Enterprise, Modern Black Man, and Dollars & Sense, have not published a single article or public service advertisement in recent years alerting blacks to the risks associated with alcohol use and abuse. None of these magazines has made even a minimum effort on what has been termed the most "ignored" and serious problem confronting black Americans -- alcohol abuse.[45] General circulation magazines display the same editorial reticence, even though smaller fractions of their revenues come from alcoholic beverage advertisers.

The 1985 CSPI/MIBCA survey of black alcoholism professionals found that among those who counsel and treat blacks with alcohol problems, over one-third of the respondents noted that alcohol-related health and safety information is virtually non-existent in the black community. An even greater number of the respondents believed that there is a significant imbalance between commercial alcohol promotions and public service alcohol-related health information resources.

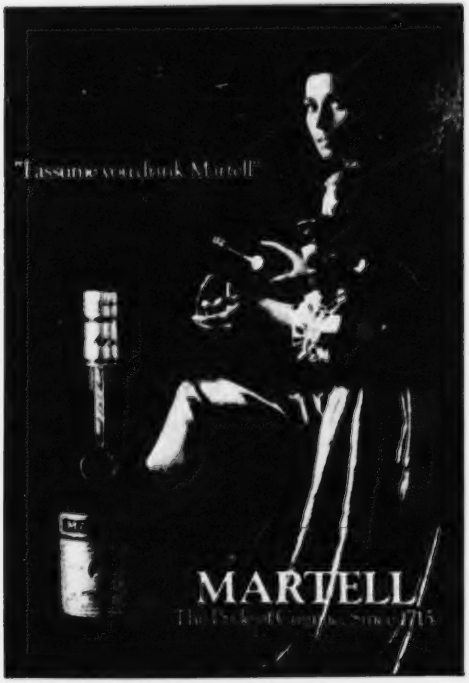
Like alcohol advertising for the general public, many magazine alcohol ads aimed at blacks portray drinking in a glamorous and upbeat way, linking drinking to personal, social, and professional success. Take, for example, ads produced by the Burrell agency for Martell cognac. An elegantly-clad, bejeweled, and obviously successful middle-aged black couple is

clutching cognac-filled snifters. Another Martell ad shows an attractive black woman, draped in high fashion clothes, pouring a glass of cognac. "I assume you drink Martell," reads the ad banner. Another cognac, Hennessey, turned to ads featuring implied sexuality, as well as high living. One of a series of four ads in the new Hennessey campaign pictures a black female singer at a supper club. The message: "The civilized way to listen to a lady."

These image ads are typical of re-cast cognac ads that target black consumers, who down about half of all cognac. While the "good life" may in actuality be out of reach, an impressive liquor selection is not. Says Eugene Morris, a former senior vice president of the Chicago-based Burrell advertising firm, "[T]he average black consumer can't talk about his stock portfolio or second home in the country, [b]ut he can certainly demonstrate that he has good taste by ordering premium liquor."[46]

In much the same vein, Burrell launched its equally successful "Misting" campaign for Canadian Mist whisky. According to Advertising Age:

> When Burrell was assigned black advertising for...Canadian Mist, the agency knew the rugged, outdoorsy general-market theme wouldn't play in the black consumer market. The brand was perceived by blacks as a low-quality product, says [a Burrell spokesman], who oversees the agency's alcoholic beverage accounts. We had to try to raise the image of our product to a level that would be more acceptable to our audience, which traditionally had not embraced lower priced brands.[47]



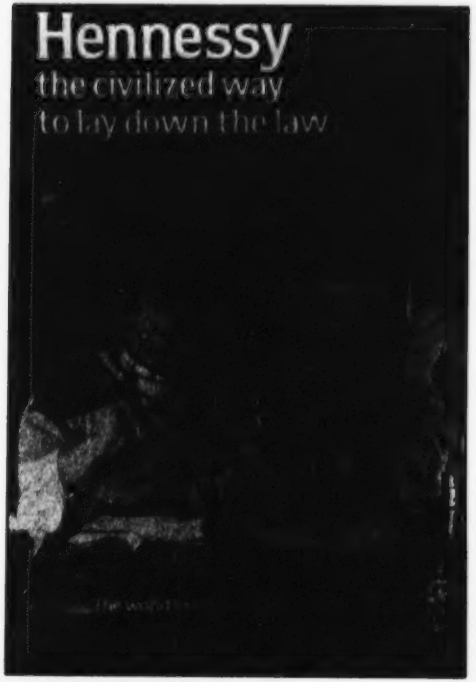
Alcohol marketers tell black consumers that drinking is the ticket to success and prosperity.

After dressing up the image of the product, Burrell was able to boast of up to a 25 percent increase in its share of sales of Canadian whisky to blacks.[48]

The upscale drink-to-success message is a common one among alcohol print ads. For example, the standard pitch for Johnnie Walker scotch is to feature well-dressed, well-off black socialites enjoying an evening's festivities. Other ads suggest that Johnnie Walker Black Label (a premium scotch) is an appropriate reward for election to the state senate or graduation from medical school. A magazine ad for Hiram Walker's Canadian Club whiskey portrays a well-dressed black couple and proclaims: "The CC man is a winner.... He drinks the best because he is the best." Likewise, ads link Riunite wine (a cheap Italian import) to success, showing a tuxedo-clad gentleman and his attractive, bejeweled female companion.

Countless status-oriented alcohol promotions mock the economic plight of many blacks, and suggest that social success is somehow linked to alcohol. The upscale look can only serve to confuse social values by distorting the role of alcoholic beverages in our society. It masks the real face of alcohol in the black community and helps to obscure any honest information about the downside of drinking.

In a revealing social commentary, Canadian Club whisky ads targeted toward blacks take an interesting turn. The original version of the ads, aimed at the general market, featured sc·nes of obvious sexual tension between attractive, affluent white men and women, and advised readers to "Be a part of it." Apparently, the slogan did not quite fit the black audience, which has not yet been fully integrated into society. Hence, the black version, which appeared in various black periodicals, uses the cynical phrase: "Forget About the Rest," recognizing that blacks want to be part of their own "scene," and can ignore the "other."



Drinking is frequently associated with intimacy, and is promoted as an element in male/female relationships.

Billboard Advertising

"Ads for alcoholic beverages seem to soak up the majority of outdoor dollars spent on the black consumer," reports Advertising Age.[49] While the bulk of advertising to blacks is by way of magazines, newspapers, and the broadcasting media, in some areas up to 20 percent of alcohol ad budgets is spent on outdoor advertising.

Billboard advertising of alcoholic beverages reaches blacks in largely segregated urban areas. Most inner-city display panels push alcohol or cigarettes, two consumer products responsible for severe health and safety problems in black communities.

In the Southern California market, for example, one-fifth of all ad dollars spent to promote Colt-45 goes for billboards.[50] In greater Philadelphia, where there is a sizable black population, upscale Courvoisier cognac ads can be found on some 110 outdoor billboards.[51] In other large urban areas with a high percentage of blacks, such as Detroit, New York, and Chicago, a substantial amount of liquor and malt liquor billboard advertising is done. Data on urban-oriented "eight-sheet" billboards[52] (300 sq. feet or smaller) reflect the concentration of billboards targeted at blacks.[53] The Los Angeles metro area, for example, with a population of 7,900,000, is peppered with 1373 eight-sheet panels. According to the Out of Home Measurement Bureau, 663 of these billboards addressed

the 1,200,000 blacks in that city. Simple arithmetic demonstrates that nearly 50 percent of these billboards are aimed at only 15 percent of the population.[54]

Newark, New Jersey, provides another example. Of the 1294 eight-sheet panels counted in the Newark area, 530, or roughly 41 percent, are directed to blacks. The area's population is about 23 percent black. In St. Louis, over 95 percent of the eight-sheet panels are directed to blacks, despite their accounting for less than 28 percent of the population.

Other data, from the Eight-Sheet Outdoor Advertising Association,[55] are equally revealing. According to its 1985 Summary Report of the top 25 population-ranked markets, over 70 percent of eight-sheet revenues were for advertising directed to blacks. Advertising for alcoholic beverages was second only to ads for tobacco products, and accounted for about 37 percent of all eight-sheet advertising to blacks during 1985.

Liquor producers apparently think that urban billboards provide a direct hit on the black market. Their expenditures on this kind of advertising targeting Hispanics and the general population were down substantially in the first nine months of 1986 compared to 1985.[56] Advertising to blacks, however, was up a whopping 62.8 percent. During the first nine months of 1986, liquor marketers spent nearly 16 times as much on eight-sheet billboards directed to blacks as they spent on advertising to the general public in that medium. Some brands, notably Martell cognac and Canadian Mist whisky, were advertised on billboards directed only to the black market.

Data show that eight-sheet billboard advertising for beer is even more narrowly focused on blacks. For 1985, reported eight-sheet beer advertising space costs totaled just over $1.3 million. (Reported data include approximately 50 percent of eight-sheet outdoor advertising.) Of this total, about $780,000 bought

In a not so subtle message to heavy drinkers, this billboard implies not only that one can get high on Lord Calvert Canadian whiskey, but that one deserves to be high as well.

space for malt liquor products, all but $61,000 worth directed to blacks. About 74 percent of all eight-sheet expenditures for beer and 92 percent for malt liquor were targeted to blacks.

In addition to the use of eight-sheet billboards, larger thirty-sheet "boards" abound and are frequent vehicles for alcohol advertising. According to Impact, an alcohol trade publication, outdoor advertising expenditures (excluding eight-sheets) for liquor totaled $63.6 million[57] in 1985; beer advertising was estimated to be $13 million.[58] The billboard industry, though, says beer-related billboard revenues were in the $25 million range.[59] The Institute of Outdoor Advertising was unable to provide data on the degree to which billboards are directed to blacks.

Saturation-type advertising of the kind directed to blacks is relatively rare in predominantly white neighborhoods. In most instances, too, advertising in the inner-city is buttressed by equally aggressive marketing and advertising both at alcohol sales locations (e.g., liquor stores) as well as in billboard-type ads on the outside of buses, at bus depots, and in

subway stations. These and other marketing techniques constitute a commanding presence by the alcohol industry in the black community, a presence that is unbalanced by health and safety information about alcohol.

Like magazine ads, billboards frequently link alcoholic beverages with wealth, success, beauty, and a sense of having arrived. "These displays are frequently offensive in ghettoes," says Kevin Walker, president of TBE Advertising Design in Los Angeles. "For every person they inspire to go out and make a million, they're making 99 others miserably aware of their deprivation."[60]

Violations of Industry and Government Standards for Alcohol Advertising

Trade organizations representing beer, wine and liquor producers, and television networks, each have formulated alcohol advertising guidelines that give the appearance of effective industry self-regulation. However, these codes are weak, regularly violated, and rarely enforced. Like ads directed to general audiences, those targeting blacks often run afoul of these formal industry advertising guidelines.

Ads for malt beverages regularly violate voluntary advertising guidelines. NBC-TV's standards provide:

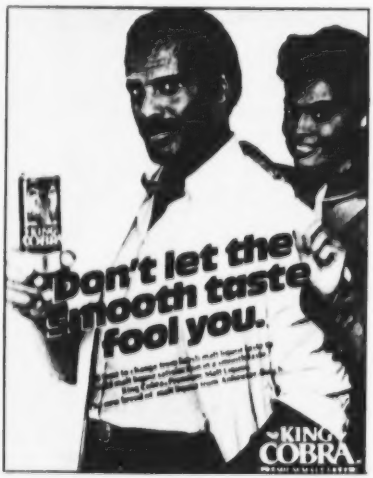
> Guideline 10: Statements, references or representations of alcohol products as "extra strength" are unacceptable.
>
> Guideline 11: Products shall not be promoted for the intoxicating effect which may be achieved by their alcohol content.[61]

Other networks have equivalent advertising proscriptions. The brewing industry's standards are similar:

Guideline 8: Advertising should neither state nor carry any implication of alcohol strength.[62]

The official commentary to this guideline also declares: "Advertisements should never refer to the 'strength' of a beer or boast subtly of 'kick,' or otherwise promote its relative alcohol content."

Nonetheless, ads for Anheuser-Busch's "premium" malt liquor proclaim: "Don't let the smooth taste fool you." A typical magazine version of the TV commercial shows actor Fred Williamson toasting with a can of Anheuser-Busch's King Cobra in his hand. Behind him an attractive black woman gestures with her index finger as if to say, "don't be fooled;" don't let the "smooth taste" make you think that King Cobra lacks punch. It has all the wallop and more than all of its hard-tasting beer counterparts. Similarly, King Cobra ads on the sides of buses in predominantly black Washington, D.C. feature a reclining female and the copy, "The bite that's right."



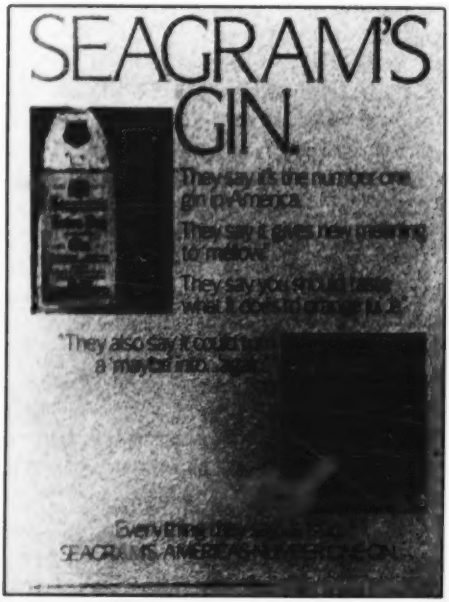
Together with parallel advertising touting King Cobra malt liquor ("The Bite That's Right.") this print ad implicitly promises an alcohol kick, in violation of the brewing industry's voluntary advertising guidelines.

Advertising for other malt liquor products, including Colt-45, Schlitz malt liquor, and Olde English Brand "800", also exploit this appeal, featuring either visual displays or verbal reminders of the strength of the product. In many ads for Schlitz malt liquor, the Schlitz malt liquor bull smashes through concrete walls to terrorize popular black singers. Olde English, in a print and poster ad campaign, mocks a theme from the fight for racial justice in the 1960s. Atop a rushing tiger, a bikini-clad black model heads for an enlarged can of the malt liquor. The message: "It is the power!" The not-so-subtle message in the King Cobra, Schlitz, and Olde English ads is that these brews do indeed have "kick." Each of these ads brings home the message of the intoxicating quality of the product and flies in the face of network and brewer codes.

The promotion of the higher alcohol content of malt liquor also may run afoul of federal law. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms regulations governing advertising of malt beverages under the Federal Alcohol Administration Act state that "the advertisement shall not contain any statement of alcoholic content, or any statement of the percentage and quantity of the original extract, or any numerals, letters, characters, or figures, likely to be considered as designations of alcoholic content."[63] The purpose of the regulation is to discourage companies from getting into an alcohol horsepower contest.

The Code of Good Practice of the Distilled Spirits Council of the United States (DISCUS) provides that "all advertisements of distilled spirits shall be modest, dignified and in good taste." The same voluntary code also declares: "No advertisement of distilled spirits shall contain an illustration of a woman unless such illustration is dignified, modest and in good taste, and no such advertisement shall depict a woman in provocative dress or situation." These codes are violated routinely in liquor ads directed to blacks and whites alike.

In an obvious challenge to the DISCUS code, ads for Seagram's gin depict a black couple in a passionate embrace -- shirt open, hands roaming. The telltale ad line reads: "They say if I mix it with grapefruit juice, you might stay...for breakfast. Everything they say is true."



A series of ads for Seagram's gin cleverly suggests the product's aphrodisiac properties. This ad is one of many that violates the DISCUS advertising code's requirement that illustrations of women be "dignified, modest and in good taste."

A variation on this ad, which appeared in the October 1986 editions of Black Enterprise, Ebony, and Modern Black Men, pictures a reclining, ecstatic couple. The woman's breast rests nearly on the man's chin. The ad's suggestion: "[Seagram's gin] could turn a 'maybe' into 'again'."

Also appearing to snub the DISCUS code is an ad for Hennessy cognac, placed in Ebony, Dollars & Sense, and Jet magazines. It shows a young man in a dimly-lit room seated at a desk; he appears to be ending a

long night of studying. An attractive, scantily attired, shoulder-exposed woman intrudes, offering him a glass of cognac. A partially-made bed is in the background. The double-meaning caption reads: "Hennessy -- the civilized way to lay down the law." The allusion to sexual intercourse, as well as a respite from the books, is apparent. Another Hennessy ad depicts a lingerie-clad black woman holding two snifters of cognac. She is leaning over a couch, beseeching the man in front of her, who, before her entry, was watching a football game. The suggestive sex message reads: "Hennessy -- the civilized way to end the game."

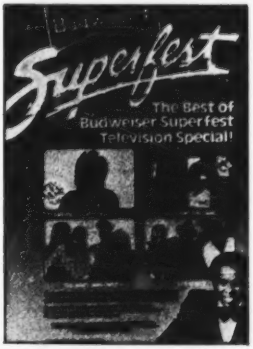
IV. Celebrity Promotions

Those familiar with alcohol problems in the black community seem to agree on at least one point concerning alcohol marketing: they're opposed to the commercial use of celebrities. Over 70 percent of the respondents in the 1985 CSPI/MIBCA survey said they either "strongly oppose" or "oppose" the use of celebrities in alcohol advertisements, and 80 percent believe that such advertising aimed at blacks has an adverse impact on young people and their lifestyles.[64] Less that 3 percent approve of such advertising. A great majority (more than 60 percent) is convinced that reduced levels of advertising, particularly celebrity advertising, would facilitate prevention measures or aid in the recovery of alcoholics.

Alcoholic beverage producers unabashedly ignore the concerns of professionals in the black community. The list of celebrities recruited to help target black consumers is indeed impressive. The lineup includes the likes of Tina Turner, Patti Labelle, Gladys Knight & The Pips, Kool and the Gang, Jeffrey Osborne, Joe Williams, Lou Rawls, Wilt Chamberlain and even Alex Haley, the author of Roots. "Coors celebrities" such as

race car champion Cheryl Glass and kickbox star Anthony "Amp" Elmore -- both black -- regularly promote beer to black audiences.

According to Frank Mingo, head of Mingo-Jones Advertising, black celebrities have a valid place in advertising. "We believe black consumers have a somewhat greater acceptance of celebrities than the general market," he told Advertising Age.[65] Young people may be particularly affected by the celebrity ploy, according to a 1981 federally-funded study on alcohol advertising.[66]



Popular entertainers Patti Labelle, the O'Jays, and Lou Rawls, and sports competitors Charlie Sampson (world bull riding champion), Anthony Elmore (super heavyweight karate champion), and Cheryl Glass (race car driver) are among many black celebrities who are closely identified with major U.S. breweries.

Nonetheless, Coors' "Coors Presents" concert tour features top names in black music, including Miles Davis and B.B. King. Miller Brewing Company sponsors the "Miller Sound Express," a traveling 32-foot stage that showcases local and national talent at free concerts across America.[67] During the summer of 1986, the Sound Express completed a 10-city black music tour. Budweiser's "Superfest," another musical extravaganza, features, among others, black stars Ashford & Simpson, Cherelle, and Frankie Beverly. Superfest targeted cities with heavy concentrations of black consumers: Washington, D.C., Detroit, and St. Louis.[68]

Alcoholic beverage companies frequently present awards to or publicize minority sports stars, both to gain goodwill in the community and to link successful athletes with their products. Because the award recipient doesn't directly endorse or push the product, the company skirts the letter, if not the spirit, of the long-standing government prohibition on the use of prominent athletes to advertise alcoholic beverages. The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms maintains that these ads "convey the dangerous impression that the use of the advertised beverage is conducive to the athlete's prowess, has attributed to the athlete's success in his field of endeavor or at least not hindered the athlete in his performance."[69]

V. Public Relations and Alcohol Promotion – Blacks as Beneficiaries or Hostages?

Alcohol producers, compared to most other industries, have an impressive record of involvement in black community affairs. While they spend far more on promotion than programs, alcohol producers have nevertheless shown considerable interest in the black community. Despite the self-interest that motivates the programs, the dollars are certainly important to the recipients.

Programs like Black History Month receive extensive support from the alcohol industry. For example, J&B Scotch ran magazine ads saluting the 19th century black feminist, Sojourner Truth, in several leading black-oriented magazines. Miller Brewing Co. also sponsored ads celebrating Black History Month.

The February/March 1986 issue of Dollars and Sense contained five image ads placed by beer companies. Stroh touted its hiring of a black architectural firm to renovate its executive offices.

Budweiser and Coors placed ads celebrating Black History Month. Miller featured national business and professional awards, and, Anheuser-Busch quoted Martin Luther King: "Building a future in partnership with the community."

Several alcoholic beverage producers make substantial contributions to such mainstream black charities as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the United Negro College Fund, and organizations combating sickle cell anemia.

But that is just the tip of the iceberg. The number and range of black cultural, entertainment, sports, social, and other events sponsored by major alcohol producers is staggering. For example, just one company, the Coors Brewery, sponsors such varied activities as black rodeo events, broadcasts of black collegiate football games, tennis tournaments, rock concerts, boxing matches, college interview fairs, film workshops, and even a gala concert at the October 1986 meeting of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation.

Coors' public relations newsletter, "New Horizons," features glowing reports of Coors' contributions to and activities in the black community.

Coors Brewery has a slick monthly newsletter, New Horizons, that publicizes its promotional activities and community service programs aimed at blacks. Among the events highlighted in the newsletter for November/December 1986 was sponsorship of Florida A&M University's Spring Sports Carnival: "The Coors presence was unmistakable as Coors banners greeted spectators on the sports fields; trophies bore the Coors name; and staff sported Coors caps." Florida's legal drinking age is 21 years. Coors banners were also conspicuous at the National Student College Interview fairs designed to provide minority high school (youth under the legal drinking age) students with information about colleges. Coors also sponsors the black Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Conference, awarding scholarships as part of its involvement. Special counter cards and schedules bearing the Coors logo were developed to feature Coors' support.

On a local level, Coors' help was available for activities such as a Baptist Church-sponsored southern excursion (bus tour) for 40 Detroit-area youngsters; the 15th Annual Afro Community Development Arts Fair in Ypsilanti, Michigan; and Washington, D.C.'s Georgia Avenue Day.

Although the Coors Company provides the most comprehensive catalog of its attempts to promote brand awareness in the black community, most major brewers and many distillers sponsor similar programs. Anheuser-Busch, for example, sponsors a vast range of black causes. Its 1985-1986 Fact Book prominently lists its underwriting, since 1979, of the Lou Rawls Parade of Stars telethon, a benefit for the United Negro College Fund; an Urban League Scholarship program for black adults in several cities; as well as a jobs program for minority youth.

Often, special promotions tie in directly with ongoing advertising campaigns. The Seagram Company backed up its $3 million ad budget for Mumm VSOP with a major public relations effort aimed at securing

the goodwill of blacks. This effort focused on a two-week tribute to black film makers called "From Harlem to Hollywood," and included a fund-raiser for a Black Film Makers Hall of Fame and the Schomberg Center for Research in Black Culture.[70]

The result of these contacts is a constant presence for alcohol producers in the black community and the association of alcoholic beverages with a wide range of cultural, educational, social, recreational, business, and athletic programs and events. To a degree, such self-interested generosity (or "investment") has become indispensable in the black community, allowing alcohol producers an even more commanding position from which directly, if subtly, to push the consumption of their products.

At least one alcohol producer has attempted to buy more than just generalized goodwill with its gifts to black organizations. The Adolph Coors Co., which has had a bad reputation among minority groups and labor, in late 1984 launched a new community relations program and agreed to invest some $625 million over five years in black and Hispanic areas. In return, several community leaders committed themselves to "take positive visible action to help eliminate the misconceptions of Coors." In addition to the NAACP, other black organizations involved in the Coors' "National Covenant" were Operation PUSH, the National Newspaper Publishers Association, the California Liquor and Package Goods Dealers, and the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church's Western district.[71]

As well-intentioned as its barrage of community activities may be, Coors' own literature leaves little doubt about its primary motive for these substantial investments. In a letter to readers of the November/December 1986 New Horizons, Coors' Community Relations Department newsletter, Ivan Burwell, Coors National Program Manager writes:

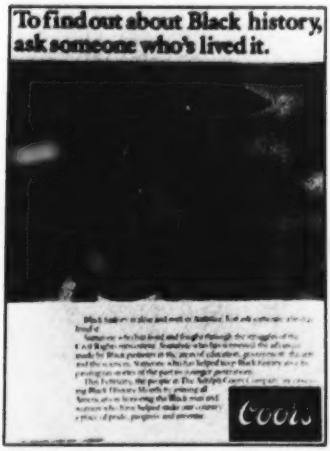
> ...the Community Relations Department together with the Sales and Marketing Department has worked diligently to enhance Coors' relationship with the minority market ...through...involvement with the NAACP, NUABA [National United Affiliated Beverage Association], PUSH and other organizations.... With the support of many, we've come far in improving Coors' image among minority groups. (emphasis added)

John Meadows, Director of Coors' Community Relations Department, gets to the point:

> Coors community relations team...was busy fulfilling Coors' commitment to reciprocate the support of the minority market ...Coors has been a leader in corporate responsiveness. As a result, sales of our product have increased and our markets have expanded. (emphasis added)

One recent event is illustrative of Coors' maneuvering to gain political, as well as community, favor. In October 1986, the Adolph Coors Company co-sponsored a gala concert for those attending the legislative meeting of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation. During the Caucus weekend (October 3-5, 1986), the Coors Co. became a contributor to the Ronald McNair Scholarship Foundation, created as a memorial to the black astronaut killed in the January 1986 Space Shuttle disaster. As reported in the October 4, 1986 Washington Post, "paying...dues (a $10,000 check) to [McNair's] widow and children" was an outstanding opportunity for Coors to gain positive publicity.

Other $10,000 Coors' gifts went to the Houston Citizen's Chamber of Commerce and Chicago's ETA Creative Arts Foundation. Jesse Jackson's PUSH for Excellence received $25,000 at the September 20, 1986 Pro Basketball Classic sponsored by Coors.[72]



Alcoholic beverage producers sponsor a prodigious number of public service messages about issues concerning blacks. Few of these messages, however, relate to the devastating fallout from alcohol abuse in the black community.

Other companies, too, make sizable contributions to black community programs. Anheuser-Busch, in its 1985-1986 Fact Book, boasts of funding job and education programs to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars over the years. The company also promotes economic development in the black community and has begun using and assisting minority-owned firms to provide Anheuser-Busch with goods and services in advertising, construction, banking, legal, and transportation services.

Of course, there is more here than pure goodwill. "Community affairs programs can be very effective" in marketing alcohol, says Frank Mingo of Mingo-Jones Advertising. Such programs "absolutely" make good business sense, adds Mingo, whose clients include Miller Brewing Co. and Seagram.[73] This is apparent

from Coors' ongoing public relations campaigns aimed at Hispanics. For years the victim of Hispanic boycotts, Coors set aside millions for community public relations, job programs and contributions to respected Latino organizations. The result: "Hispanics generated 39% of Coors' total estimated sales increase in 1985."[74] agreements such as these have tied continued community benefits to the drinking performance of the minority "market." Only recently have some organizations in the black community expressed concern about brewery marketing tactics that link economic support to the community to increased consumption of the company's products. On June 7, 1986 the National Black Alcoholism Council (NBAC) adopted a statement proposed by its Massachusetts chapter. The position paper voiced strong opposition to any deals with alcoholic beverage companies that tied company contributions to sales. The council added, "This credo of the more you drink, the more you get shows a callous disregard for the well-being of the black community.... This community does not need more alcohol abuse to help break the long chain of its oppression. There should not be such a price attached to its economic development."[75]

From the vantage point of organizations on the receiving end, it is unfortunate that the generosity and attention of alcohol producers is rarely matched by other segments of the corporate community. Numerous black organizations thus have become so dependent on alcohol (and tobacco) largesse, that they fear to bite the hand that feeds them. Alan Blum, an anti-smoking activist and founder of the community activist physicians' group, Doctors Ought to Care, thinks the tobacco industry has bought the silence of black leaders on the smoking issue: "I think black leaders and black publications are copping out."[76] Caroline Jones, executive vice president and creative director of Mingo Jones Advertising also conceded that black groups are often "so desperate for underwriting that they can't stand on principle."[77]

In much the same way, black leaders have shirked their responsibility to combat the most serious and devastating drug problem in the black community. It is hardly surprising that prominent black organizations avoid controversial health and safety issues relating to alcohol when blacks are being offered jobs, advertising accounts, bank deposits, scholarships, and other important economic assistance by alcoholic beverage producers.

Magazines and radio stations catering to black audiences are even more beholden than civic organizations to alcohol (and tobacco) producers. Black-owned media executives, reports columnist Carl Rowan,[78] claim to face the dilemma of taking the ads for cigarettes and alcohol or going out of business. Radio broadcasters appear to be hostage to beer and wine ad dollars, particularly beer. In a release to its membership announcing the spring 1985 conference of the National Association of Black Owned Broadcasters (NABOB),[79] the organization featured a session on "Alcoholic Beverage Advertising -- Balancing Free Enterprise and Social Responsibility." The memo reminded readers that restrictions on broadcast advertising -- sought at that time by a broad coalition of health, consumer, and youth organizations -- would be more severe for black broadcasters than for the rest of the industry. It went on to laud national beer and wine companies for their community service and their patronage of black stations, as well as for their "high quality advertising" and the use of black celebrities and former athletes on black broadcast facilities. The panel, which did not include any critics of alcohol advertising, featured Mickey Leland, a black congressman (D-Tex.) and a member of the House Subcommittee on Telecommunications, Consumer Protection, and Finance (the committee with jurisdiction over broadcast advertising issues); two black broadcasters; and the presidents of the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) and U.S. Brewers Association.

Testifying before Leland's congressional subcommittee just two months after the NABOB meeting, NAB president, Eddie Fritts, asserted that ethnic broadcasters "would be the most harmed by beer and wine advertising restrictions...[because] [t]hese products account for about eighteen percent of ad revenues." Certain black college sports programming, heavily sponsored by beer producers, he alleged, would be jeopardized.[80]

Broadcasters allege that revenues from advertising for more wholesome products than alcoholic beverages are inadequate to support black-owned media at current levels. Indeed, Congress, under the leadership of Representative Cardiss Collins (D-Ill.), has begun to investigate advertiser discrimination against black media outlets. Recalcitrant advertisers may also face the pressure of boycotts organized by Reverend Jesse Jackson or others. This is one pressure that all too many alcoholic beverage producers don't have to worry about. Of course, as most broadcasters and general circulation magazines have proven, getting a wide variety of advertisers does not necessarily make the media particularly courageous in tackling alcohol and tobacco problems.

VI. Conclusions and Recommendations

Alcohol is America's drug of choice and, by far, the most devastating. Despite its link to a broad range of serious health, safety, and social problems, alcohol use is widely promoted in all media and through a melange of increasingly clever and innovative marketing gimmicks. Given the high stakes for society, such practices should be subjected to intense scrutiny. But alcohol promotions to blacks (and certain other minority groups) require special

attention, because large numbers of blacks are particularly vulnerable to alcohol problems due to their unique health, economic, and social status. Certainly, industry efforts to get blacks to drink ever-increasing quantities of alcoholic beverages, in particular those that contain enhanced levels of alcohol content, only compound the risks to the black community. The risks inherent in the unbridled marketing of booze should be of extreme concern to black leaders and civic groups, as well as to policy makers of all colors.

Unquestionably, alcohol producers (white-owned) and their ad agencies (many black-owned) have remained indifferent to the severity of alcohol problems confronting blacks. Their commercial marketing and public relations campaigns serve only to exacerbate current problems. Moreover, the heavy concentration of alcohol ads in black magazines and on black radio stations has had the probably inevitable effect of jeopardizing editorial freedom and objectivity pertaining to alcohol-related issues. The leading black magazines have thus far done virtually nothing to alert their readers to the risks associated with alcohol use and abuse. Not surprisingly, black magazines, as well as general circulation and women's publications, have a similarly sorry record when it comes to alerting readers to the hazards of tobacco smoke.[81] Cigarette advertising, banned in the broadcast media since 1971, is another hard-to-buck lucrative source of income.

Many black civic and philanthropic groups have become addicted to the largesse of alcohol and tobacco producers. Alcohol producers, who have skillfully hidden a political and marketing strategy behind a facade of social conscience, have rendered many esteemed black organizations silent in the face of alcohol problems that threaten the black community. Goodwill, in the form of monetary donations, concerts, jobs, ad spending on black-owned radio stations and in black-oriented magazines, as well as business for black-owned advertising agencies, banks and other commercial and professional groups, has successfully

diverted attention from alcohol producers as, to be blunt, the most pervasive and persistent distributors of potentially-addictive drugs in the black community.

Commenting on the CBS Evening News about the allegation that black radio stations shy away from anti-smoking commercials, Dr. Harold Freeman of Harlem Hospital in New York knowingly remarked, "If a person is receiving a large amount of money they will not bite the hand that is feeding them."[82] The same logic apparently holds true when alcohol money is the sustenance.

Considering the massive amount of harm that alcohol is engendering in the black community, it is urgent that alcoholic beverage producers, government, black civic groups and black-owned media, and other businesses alter their practices and policies concerning the marketing of alcoholic beverages. We suggest the following steps.

Alcoholic beverage producers should:

- Stop targeting blacks with products that are relatively high in alcohol (compared to regular beers and wines), such as malt liquors and fortified wines.

- Voluntarily limit billboard advertising in areas of dense minority population to no more than the number of billboards (per capita) used in white communities. Each billboard alcohol ad should be matched, or alternated, with a health message about the potential risks of alcohol use/abuse.

- Fund comprehensive community education and prevention programs to help reduce alcohol-related problems in black communities. Black media and ad agencies should contribute to these programs.

- Stop conditioning economic assistance to blacks

on increases in alcoholic beverage sales among blacks.

Government should:

- Help combat the disproportionately severe alcohol problems in the black community by developing prevention and treatment programs that focus especially on young people and high-risk middle-aged men and women.

- Expand its funding of research on black alcohol problems. Studies, which could be overseen by the Alcohol, Drug and Mental Health Administration and the Office of Minority Health, should concentrate on the:

    * rates of alcohol use and abuse in various age groups and geographical areas;

    * effects of poverty on alcohol abuse and access to alcoholism treatment;

    * effectiveness of treatment and prevention programs that target middle-aged black males and females, the two heaviest drinking groups;

    * socio-cultural factors associated with heavy drinking among black women; and

    * alcohol marketing and advertising practices directed at blacks and their effects on drinking patterns.

- Set a maximum alcohol content for malt beverages of 5 percent by volume. This would lower the alcohol content of malt liquors.

Black civic groups, educational institutions, political leaders, and the media should:

- Examine whether their financial and other relationships with alcohol producers have compromised their ability to take all steps necessary to tackle alcohol problems among blacks. Black groups should strive to replace revenues from alcohol (and cigarette) producers with other revenues and become vigorous advocates to reduce alcohol abuse (and smoking).

Businesses of all types should:

- Increase advertising in black media and increase contributions to black civic groups. Such action would not only respond to a social need and engender goodwill and sales, but would also reduce the dependence of black media and groups on alcohol and cigarette producers.

Legislative changes aimed at reforming American drinking practices generally would also help reduce the pressure on blacks to drink. Such reforms include:

- Equal time on TV and radio for health and safety messages about the risks associated with alcohol use and abuse.

- Banning of all alcohol ads in which athletes (active, retired, or actors) and music and show business celebrities promote drinking. Similarly, ads should not mislead by linking drinking with professional, social, athletic, sexual or economic success.

- Sharp increases in federal excise taxes on beer, wine, and distilled spirits. A portion of the new revenues should be used to help prevent and treat alcohol problems.

- Warning, calorie, and ingredient labels on all alcohol products.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

AFTERWORD

By Peter Bell
Executive Director
Minnesota Institute on Black
Chemical Abuse

This report represents an important new tool for building awareness of and sparking debate about the tremendous negative impact that alcohol and other drug abuse has on the black community. A large amount of national attention has been lavished on the impact of illegal drugs, and despite the risk of sensationalism and misinformation, the overall effect has been positive. Illegal drugs are a serious threat to our national well-being. But the focus on all the dangerous drugs we love to hate often distracts our attention from the powerful impact of the one drug that stands head and shoulders above the rest of the pack in terms of both popularity and destructiveness: alcohol. It is truly ironic that not only is this drug legal and widely sanctioned socially, its use is also aggressively promoted. In fact, far more money is spent promoting the use of alcohol than is spent in federal efforts to interdict the flow of illegal drugs. We don't have as much data as we would like on comparisons between patterns of alcohol abuse in the black and white communities, but we do know, as this report so ably points out, that blacks suffer disproportionately greater consequences from alcohol abuse. And, as this report demonstrates, blacks, nonetheless, have become special marketing targets for alcohol producers.

An ambitious Omnibus Drug Bill was recently signed into law, riding the crest of a wave of national resolve to "do something" about the destructive impact of drugs on American life. Politicians of all stripes vied with each other for visibility on this issue,

heightening the rhetoric so far as to state boldly that the objective of this legislation is to "wipe out the drug problem" within a decade. None of us in the field seriously believe we will "wipe out" the problem in ten years -- or fifty --but, through a mix of short-term and long-term strategies, our efforts are making a difference, and we have every reason to believe our impact on this mammoth problem will continue to increase.

Black chemical-dependency professionals agree that increased access to treatment and aftercare for black people should be a major part of our agenda in this fight. But, for the black community, over-reliance on treatment as a strategy will not be as effective as it could be because black people tend to obtain treatment much later in the degenerative process of the disease of alcoholism, when the chances for successful treatment are greatly diminished. Another agenda item should focus on the development of new research that explores the major gaps in our knowledge about chemical abuse among blacks.

But nothing, we believe, will be as effective in the long run as working creatively and effectively to prevent the use and abuse of alcohol and other dangerous drugs in the first place. Ultimately, primary prevention strategies require for their success nothing less than a basic and profound change in public awareness, attitudes, and values. Basic change in the attitudes and standards regarding the use of alcohol in the black community will be exceedingly hard to achieve in an environment in which the overwhelming bulk of information about alcohol comes from a sustained effort mounted by the alcoholic beverage industry to promote its consumption. It is time to talk seriously about how best to counter industry's massive, one-sided barrage of highly seductive information about drinking.

We must begin by calling for a national dialogue among a wide range of black organizations: civic

groups, service clubs, neighborhood coordinating councils, churches, and, of course, such major national organizations as the National Urban League, the Urban Coalition, and the NAACP. The National Black Alcoholism Council, the National Institute on Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse, and the HHS Office of Minority Health could well serve as catalysts in this organizational effort. Also central to this national dialogue will be the full participation of representatives of the black media, the advertising industry, and the alcoholic beverage industry itself.

A number of possible options need to be delineated and discussed. What role can, or should, alcohol advertisers play in educating the black community about alcohol problems? Should alcohol advertising be limited in some way?

Beer, wine and liquor trade association guidelines for responsible advertising are often disregarded in practice, sometimes flagrantly. Is it realistic to expect the industry to do a better job of policing itself if more public pressure can be brought to bear? Should the industry be pressured to fund an "equal time" public service campaign to educate people about the health hazards of alcohol use? If so, what agency or consortium of agencies should take responsibility for overseeing the development of such a campaign? Should all alcoholic beverage containers be required to bear health warning labels?

The issue of a full frontal attack on the marketing of alcohol will be a highly sensitive and controversial one in the black community, partly because a sizable portion of the economy of the black community is in some way related to the buying and selling of alcohol. Predominantly black neighborhoods have an average of three times the number of liquor outlets as do predominantly white neighborhoods, many of them owned and operated by blacks. In most of the major black-oriented magazines, liquor ads run second in frequency only to cosmetic and hair product ads.

Alcohol producers are the number one accounts of many of the top black advertising agencies in the country. Many popular arts and entertainment events are sponsored by the alcohol industry. The "multiplier effect" of all the alcohol-related commerce rippling through the economy of the nation's black communities is surely substantial, and not entirely unwelcome. Indeed, organizations like Operation PUSH in Chicago have successfully pressured the alcoholic beverage industry (as well as others) to increase dramatically the number of upper level black employees.

Additionally, black executives within the marketing or public relations departments of some of the larger alcohol producers have implemented highly visible community affairs programs. Much of the focus of these programs has been to demonstrate the concern of the alcohol producers for the well-being of the black community. In many cases, donations to charitable organizations, scholarship funds, and other worthy causes are regular and generous. As important as these industry contributions are, we can no longer delay in offering industry additional opportunities to truly show its concern for the black community.

Naturally, many of the marketing reforms suggested in this report must also be viewed in the larger context of alcohol promotions that affect all Americans. Immediate action must be taken to eliminate alcohol marketing practices that appeal to young people and non-drinkers. For starters, we need public pressure to ensure that the alcohol industries will adhere better to their own codes of responsible advertising. We should insist that industry discontinue appeals to young people, including an end to the use of celebrities and athletes to sell alcohol. Grassroots efforts are necessary to build support for a better balance of information about alcohol. The Fairness in Alcohol Advertising Act (HR 2526 in the 99th Congress) provides a model "equal time" proposal. One means to support an equal time requirement, as well as community education, prevention and treatment

programs, might be a surcharge or tax on alcohol advertising expenditures, particularly in the broadcast media.

The Office of Minority Health in the Department of Health and Human Services should fund and help implement innovative prevention and community education programs specifically for the black community. Perhaps as part of the current "war on drugs," the media and black organizations can develop a coordinated, on-going, nationwide campaign to alert blacks to the number one drug problem in our society. Such an undertaking, to disseminate basic information to the black community about the personal and social consequences of alcohol use, would require the participation and cooperation of government, the black press, black churches and service organizations, the major networks, black celebrities, athletes, and prominent public officials, among others.

At the Minnesota Institute on Black Chemical Abuse (MIBCA), we teach that the line between alcohol use and abuse is very thin. We are not prohibitionists; most people can use alcohol responsibly for most of their lives. Some people, likewise, will smoke cigarettes their entire lives and never contract lung cancer or emphysema (though secondary smoke may affect the health of others). But those who choose to drink, like those who choose to smoke, must be confronted with the reality that they are placing themselves, and often others, at risk. We understand and respect the views of those who, instinctively, resist the idea of massive programs requiring new expenditures and federal controls. But to continue, in view of the overwhelming medical and sociological evidence, to ignore the negative impact of alcohol abuse on our national life is indefensible. We must delay no longer in addressing this "number one health problem in Black America." The time to act is now.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Notes

1. Alcohol Abuse and Black America p. 1 (F. Harper ed., 1976).

2. National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA), A Guide to Planning Alcoholism Treatment Programs p. 57 (HHS pub. 1986).

3. For a useful annotated bibliography dealing with thealcoholism treatment of blacks, see M. Womble, Alcoholism Treatment Quarterly: Treatment of Black Alcoholics 2(3/4):221-241, (1985).

4. "Third Special Report to Congress," National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA), 1978. "The Effectiveness and Costs of Alcoholism Treatment," Office of Technology Assessment (1983); Research Triangle Institute report to ADAMHA (1983 costs to society due to alcohol abuse calculated at $116.674 billion).

5. NIAAA, Supra, note 2

6. Report of the Secretary's Task Force on Black and Minority Health, HHS Publication, August 1985, Volume I, p.130 (hereinafter referred to as "Report").

7. NIAAA, supra, note 2.

8. NIAAA, supra, note 7, p. 43.

9. "Report," Volume VII, p. 80 (Herd).

10. Id., p. 90.

11. "Fourth Special Report to the U.S. Congress," NIAAA, 1981, pp. 87, 88.

12. Supra, note 4, "Third Special Report."

13. Alcohol, Casualties and Crime, Marc Aarens, et al. Social Research Group, School of Public Health, University of California, Nov. 1977, August 1978.

14. "Report," 1985, Volume VII; p. 92.

15. Id., p. 93.

16. Center for Science in the Public Interest/Minnesota Institute on Black Chemical Abuse (CSPI/MIBCA) questionnaire, November 1985-January 1986.

17. Personal communication, Lois Chatham, Office of Extramural Research, NIAAA, Dec. 2, 1986.

18. Cahalan, et al; (1969) cited in Herd, "Report," Volume VII, p. 103.

19. Warheit, G., Auth, J., Black, B., "Alcohol Behavior Among Southern Blacks: A Comparative Analysis," Univ. of Florida, Gainesville, Table 1, p.41 (hereinafter cited as Warheit).

20. Id.

21. Harford, T., Lowman, C. and Kaelber, T., "Alcohol Use in a National Sample of Black and Non-Black Senior High School Students, "NIAAA, Nov. 1982. For blacks and whites, the majority of drinkers begin consuming alcohol before they reach the age of 26. [Warheit, et al., at

20] By the same token, very few of those surveyed reported commencement of drinking after age 40. [Id. at 20-21] Upwards of half of the white males surveyed said that they drank before the age of 18, whereas slightly over one-third of the black males surveyed reported drinking before that age. [Id. at 20] With women of both races, approximately one in four said that they drank before reaching the age of 18. [Id.]

22. Other interpretations suggest that heavy drinking is more common among black women and white men.

23. "Report," Volume VII, p.118 (Herd).

24. Warheit, et al., Table 3.

25. "Report," Volume VII, pp. 104-106.

26. Warheit, et al., p. 25.

27. Id.

28. Warheit, et al., p. 27.

29. Id. p. 28.

30. Id. pp. 34-35.

31. Id. p. 28.

32. "Report," Volume VII, p. 121 (Herd).

33. Advertising Age, Dec. 19, 1985, p. 25.

34. Id.

35. Washington Post, Nov. 16, 1986, C-1, 11.

36. MIBCA Scope (Spring/Summer 1984) (newsletter of the Minnesota Institute on Black Chemical Abuse).

37. New York Times, Oct. 15, 1986 (Advertising Column).

38. Id.

39. Television/Radio Age, March 3, 1986, p. 104.

40. As of November 30, 1986, 20.6 percent of Marine enlistees in the Marine Corps are black, compared to 11 percent of black men 18 to 21 in the general population. Personal communication, Major Schneider, December 11, 1986, Equal Opportunity Branch, U.S.M.C.

41. Advertising Age, November 19, 1984, p. 54.

42. Washington Post, Oct. 13, 1986.

43. Advertising Age, Nov. 10, 1986.

44. Food & Beverage Marketing, April 1985.

45. Some two months after CSPI inquiries were made, Ebony published a general health article which touched on black alcohol problems. See

Poinsett,"How to Deal with 10 Serious Health Problems," Ebony, March 1986, pp.144, 146, 152. The July 1986 Ebony also was an exception to the silence on alcohol problems. In an article on birth defects, Ebony, commendably, emphasized the very real risks of drinking during pregnancy.

46. Advertising Age, Feb. 16, 1987, S 10.

47. Advertising Age, Dec. 19, 1985, p. 5.

48. Id.

49. Advertising Age, Nov. 19, 1984, p. 54.

50. Id.

51. Pennsylvania Observer, Nov. 11, 1985, p. 17.

52. Advertising Age, June 30, 1986. 32,000 have been audited (counted); this number does not include the hundreds of thousands of larger billboards. For example, the leading billboard company, Foster & Kleiser, is reported to have 43,211 billboard structures, not counting eight-sheet boards.

53. Signs of the Times, October 1986, "Eight Sheet: Market by Market," pp. 126, 127.

54. Id.

55. National Advertising Report of Eight-Sheet Outdoor Advertising Association, 4th Quarter and 1985 Summary. The report is based on an estimated 50 percent of national advertising posted on eight-sheet outdoor billboards, but, according to the Association, offers a representative sampling of national advertisers and patterns of advertising use.

56. National Advertising Report of Eight-Sheet Outdoor Advertising Association, 3rd Quarter, 1986.

57. Impact, Vol. 16, Nos. 14 & 15, August 1 & 15, 1986, p. 4.

58. Id., p.8.

59. Andrea MacDonald, Research Department, Institute of Outdoor Advertising, New York, NY, personal communication, Jan. 8, 1987.

60. Supra, note 49.

61. "The Alcohol Policy Issue, An NBC Resource for Action," Appendix I, National Broadcasting Co., 1984.

62. "Brewing Industry Advertising Guidelines," United States Brewers Association, Inc., December 1984.

63. 27 CFR 7.54(7)(c).

64. CSPI/MIBCA survey, supra, note 12.

65. Advertising Age, Special Report on Marketing to Blacks, December 19, 1985.

66. Charles Atkin and Martin Block, "Content and Effects of Alcohol Advertising," Report of Michigan State University Study, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, October, 1981.

67. Pennsylvania Observer, Sept. 1, 1986, p. 4.

68. Jet, June 2, 1986, inside front cover.

69. Letter from Richard G. Allen, Chief, Product Compliance Branch, BATF, to Donald S. McDonald, Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc., Jan. 27, 1984, citing ads that name individual race car driversand that violate 27 CFR 7.54(e). ("The advertisement shall not contain any statement, design, or device representing that the use of any malt beverage has curative or therapeutic effects...")

70. Supra, note 38.

71. New York Times, Nov. 16, 1984.

72. New Horizons Newsletter (Adolph Coors Co.), Nov./Dec. 1986.

73. Ronald Collins' interview with Frank Mingo, January 9, 1986.

74. Advertising Age, "Coors Turns Boycotters into Buyers," Feb. 27, 1986.

75. National Black Alcoholism Council (NBAC) Newsletter, "National News and Views," No. 10, August 1985.

76. New York Times, "Blacks in Debate on Tobacco Industry Influences," January 17, 1987.

77. Wall Street Journal, "Tobacco Companies Target Blacks With Ads, Donations and Festivals," October 6, 1986.

78. Washington Post, Oct. 13, 1986.

79. Press Release, National Association of Black Owned Broadcasters, February 11, 1985.

80. "Beer and Wine Advertising: Impact of Electronic Media," Hearing before the Subcommittee on Telecommunications, Consumer Protection, and Finance, Committee on Energy and Commerce, House of Representatives, May 21, 1985, Serial No. 99-16, p. 214.

81. Washington Post, "Ad Dollars Seen Inhibiting Antismoking News," December 11, 1985; Wall Street Journal, "Tobacco Companies Target Blacks With Ads, Donations and Festivals," October 6, 1986.

82. CBS Evening News, Thursday, Nov. 20, 1986.

The Center for Science in the Public Interest is a non-profit, tax-exempt organization that is concerned about the effects of technology on society. Most of CSPI's work focuses on food, nutrition, and health; our five year old program on alcohol policies looks at the marketing activities of beverage producers, taxes, labeling, and the need for comprehensive government efforts to reduce alcohol abuse and alcoholism.

CSPI publishes numerous books, posters, and pamphlets for both teachers and the general public. In addition to educational activities, CSPI is a key Washington advocate for better food and alcoholic beverage labeling, regulation of unsafe food additives, including those found in alcoholic beverages, and advertising restrictions for alcohol advertising in the broadcast media.

Several of CSPI's alcohol policy publications are available for sale. Those available include:

_____ *The Booze Merchants*, by Jacobson, Atkins, and Hacker 161 pp., $5.95

_____ *Chemical Additives in Booze*, 113 pp., $4.95

_____ *Alcohol Warning Signs: How to Get Legislation Passed in Your City*, by Schechter, 52 pp., $4.95

_____ "Impact of Alcohol Excise Tax Increases on Federal Revenues, Alcohol Consumption, and Alcohol Problems," 16 pp., $3.00

_____ *Marketing Booze to Blacks*, Hacker and Collins, 70 pp., $4.95

Please indicate the number of copies of each report you would like. If you would like more information on CSPI's other activities and publications, please check here:

_____ Please send me more information about CSPI.

_____
(Name)

_____
(Address)

_____
(City) (State) (Zip)

- Make your check payable to "CSPI."
- Send this order form to:

Publications
Center for Science in the Public Interest
1501 16th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036